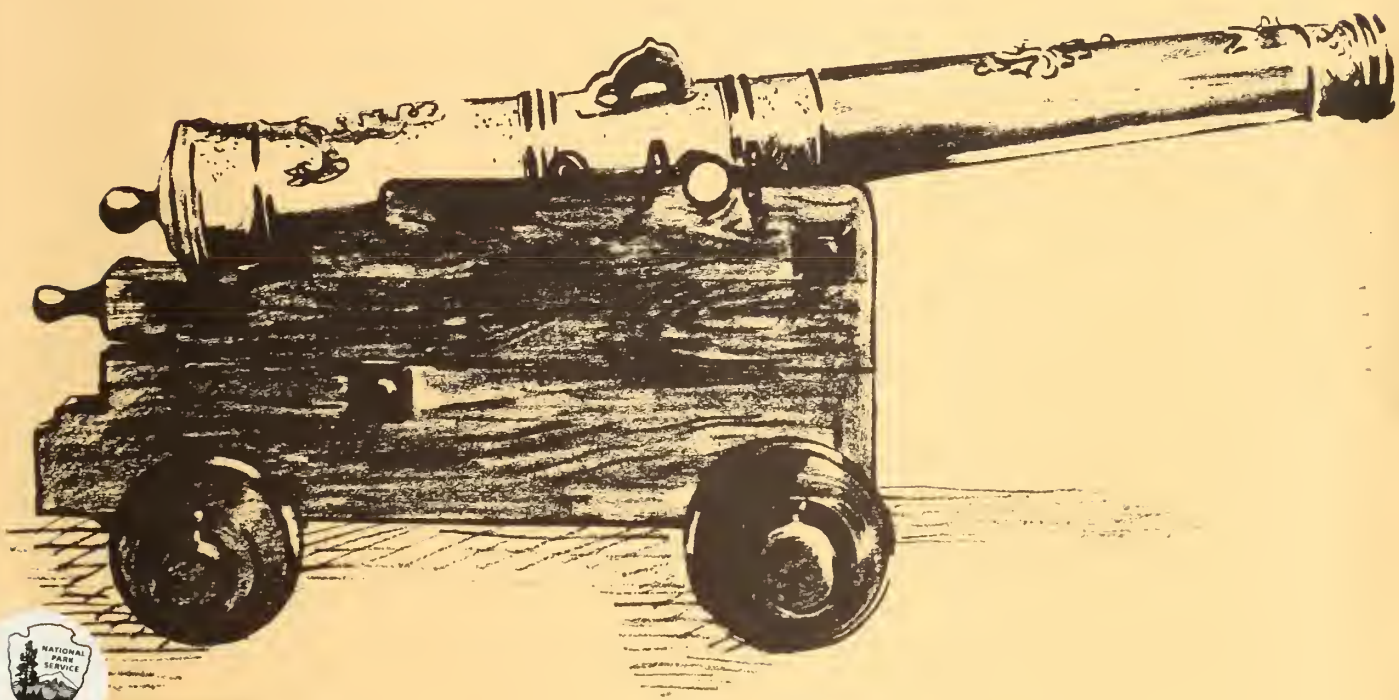
Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas

National Monuments Florida

HISTORICAL RESEARCH MANAGEMENT PLAN



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"CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS NATIONAL MONUMENT"
Castillo De San Marcos National Monument, Fla.

and

"FORT MATANZAS NATIONAL MONUMENT"
Fort Matanzas National Monument, Fla.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH MANAGEMENT PLAN

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OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

National Park Service Department of the Interior

Approval Sheet

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
I.	The Park Story	1
	A. The Main Historical Theme	1
	B. Subsidiary Historical Theme	18
	C. Relationship of Historical Themes to Natural History, Anthroplogical, or other Themes	20
	D. Statement of Historical Significance	23
	E. Reasons for the establishment of the Park	25
II.	Historical Resources of the Park	30
	A. Tangible Resources	30
	B. Intangible Historical Resources	31
	C. Other Historical Resources	32
III.	Status of Research	33
	A. Research Accomplished	33
	B. Research in Progress	42
	C. Cooperation with non-Service Persons or Institutions	43
IV.	Research Needs	48
	A. Site Identification Studies	48
	B. General Background Studies	48
	C. Studies for Interpretive Developments	49
	D. Development Studies	51
V.	Summary of Research Proposals	53
Appendix - Bibliography		55
	1. Books dealing with the general period of history	57
	2. Published material dealing directly with the Park	75
	3. Unpublished primary sources	79

I. The Park Story

A. The Main Historical Theme

Successive fortifications, coinciding with the founding and growth of St. Augustine, enabled Spain to hold Florida for 235 years, during 1565-1763 and 1784-1821. Castillo de San Marcos, begun in 1672, is the epitome of the highest development attained by a fortification within that part of Florida governed from St. Augustine. However, a flank of the fortification was subject to surprise attack because Matanzas Inlet and Matanzas River to the south provided an avenue of approach to St. Augustine. When it was fully realized that an adequately equipped enemy possessed this capability, Fort Matanzas was built in 1740-1742 to provide greater control over the inlet and the waterway, and thus protect the "back door" to St. Augustine.

In 1565, Florida extended northward to Chesapeake Bay and westward to Mexico. Less than a hundred years later, however, the western boundary had been placed at the Apalachicola River. Spain had acquired title to the land through discovery, exploration, or attempted settlement by Juan Ponce de Leon (1513, 1521), Alonso Alverez de Pineda (1519), Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon (1521, 1525, 1526),

Panfilo de Narvaez (1528), Hernando de Soto (1539), Father Luis Cancer (1549), and Tristan de Luna (1559-61).

France challenged Spain's possession of Florida by establishing Charlesfort (1562 at present-day Port Royal Sound, South Carolina, and Fort Carolina, 1564) on the St. Johns River, 10 miles east of Jacksonville. These establishments also threatened Spanish intercontinental shipping on the route along the east coast of Florida. However, Charlesfort failed the same year it opened, but Fort Caroline, on the other hand, was reinforced a year after its beginning.

Spain was thus forced to establish St. Augustine (1565) in order to strengthen her dominion over Florida through effective occupation of the land, and to protect her shipping lane along the coast. Indian Chief Seloy welcomed the settlers to co-occupy his village, and the Spanish proceeded to fortify a large dwelling with earthworks and moat in expectation of a French attack. The village was located on the present site of Mission of Nombre de Dios, a quarter mile north of Castillo de San Marcos. This was the beginning of (1) the first permanent settlement within the present limits of the continental United States, (2) the first fortification in St. Augustine as the northernmost

outpost of Spanish holdings in the Caribbean Sea, and (3) the "Spanish borderlands," eventually extending to California and in time rounding out the "natural" southern frontier of the United States.

The first decisive encounter between European powers for land now within the United States eliminated France from the arena. The Spanish destroyed the French at Fort Caroline and on the sand dunes at the southern tip of Anastasia Island, next to Matanzas Inlet, 15 miles south of St. Augustine. Not until 134 years later, did France reappear in another part of Florida.

Spain consolidated her foothold in St. Augustine and the areas close to it during the period from 1565 to 1668. The Spanish withdrew from Seloy's village after eight months there, because their requisitions on Indian food stocks brought about an outbreak of hostility. The settlers put Matanzas Bay between them and the Indians by moving to north Anastasia Island. Here they built a wooden fort (the second fortification) close by the sea. As the waves soon began to wash away the land where the structure stood, the settlers moved again in July 1566. They erected a fort (the third) on the new site, which was so close to the structure doomed by the sea that its artillery platform

was carried to and installed on the new fortification. Also in 1566 the Spanish established Santa Elena at Port Royal Sound, South Carolina. At Matanzas Inlet, next to the south end of Anastasia, the settlers built a tall wooden tower in 1569, to watch for ships approaching St. Augustine. Thus began continued military habitation at Matanzas and a succession of lookouts until the advent of a permanent structure which in time became known as Fort Matanzas.

The destruction of the third St. Augustine fort in 1570, during the mutiny by some starving, unpaid soldiers, brought about the split of the combined fortification and settlement as a single unit. Thereafter, the fort was built close to, but separate from, the city. Thus, in that year the settlers re-crossed Matanzas Bay to the present site of St. Augustine. The wooden fort built at the time (the fourth) deteriorated so rapidly that another structure (the fifth) replaced it in 1579. This one, faring no better than its predecessor, gave way to Fort San Juan de Pinillos (the sixth) in 1586. These three successive fortifications were probably located on the firm ground between present Hospital Creek and the North River. Since water had to be crossed to reach this location, these forts and the city could not give or receive reciprocal support.

There was now a premature indication of what to expect when England would move decisively against Spain for supremacy in the Southeast. In 1586, Sir Francis Drake struck St. Augustine, burning both the city and Fort San Juan de Pinillos. Drake's raid, however, did not stop life and continuity in St. Augustine. Slowly, the settlers began re-constructing their houses. For the location of their new fort (the seventh), they abandoned the isolated site of San Juan de Pinillos and came to the west shore of Matanzas Bay, the same shoreline of the city. Here the settlers built the structure, some 820 yards from Pinillos, but still some 700 yards from St. Augustine. With the new fort, named San Marcos, there first appeared the name that the St. Augustine fortification would henceforth bear permanently. The Drake raid however prompted the abandonment of the Santa Elena settlement in 1587. The first Fort San Marcos eventually went the way of all wooden forts, and its successor (the eighth) took over in 1604, on a site some 760 yards from the city.

The very limited character of Spanish exploration in the upper north Atlantic coast had set Florida's northern frontier at Chesapeake Bay. The founder of Florida, Pedro Menendez de Aviles, had considered the line to be at 37^{o} north latitude. In 1607, the settlement of Jamestown by the

English made this limit irrevocably permanent. The Spanish made a reconnaissance and found that the English were not on land regarded as Florida. It may have been the move of colonists from Jamestown to settle Edenton in (present-day North Carolina) in 1653 that prompted the Spanish in St. Augustine that same year to build another wooden fort (the ninth) to replace the frequently repaired and even partially rebuilt one constructed in 1604. The new structure covered the west portion of the present site of Castillo de San Marcos.

Consolidation proceeded concurrently in areas away from St. Augustine. Spain subjected the centers of Indian population in coastal Georgia, north central and west Florida to obedience, and linguistically-based provinces were organized. The Spanish believed that saving native souls through conversion to Christianity was their justification for being in Florida, and that Christian Indians would identify themselves with Spanish concepts of life and society. The conversion task was concentrated on the population centers and tackled patiently by that other vital agent of Spanish colonial civilization, the missionary priest. To the military, however, the benefits to be derived from the missionary effort were of a material nature: control through pacification, acquisition of sources of food and labor, and availability of Indian military assistance.

By the end of the consolidation period, St. Augustine had acquired a thorough stamp as an army post. There was an absence of a large number of civilians free from a connection with the military. The soldier was also the settler. Had the soldier and his family ever been removed, the settlement would have disappeared. Since the only civilians were wives, daughters, young sons, and occasional transients, there was no growth of civil institutions found in other Spanish American settlements, such as the municipal corporation. However, workable practices evolved through trial and error in areas such as succession to the governorship, military and ecclesiastical organization, and military financial administration.

An event in 1668 marked the beginning of a new era for the fortification of St. Augustine. English pirates occupied and sacked the city, but failed to take the deteriorating wooden fort (the ninth). Since the pirates did not burn St. Augustine, they created the impression that they would return. This apprehension prompted Queen Mariana in 1669 to order money sent to build a stone fort which would ensure the preservation of St. Augustine better than the dilapidated wooden structure. The settlement of Charleston by the English in 1670 lent urgency to the situation, because shortly thereafter the north boundary of Florida receded from

Chesapeake Bay to a line just south of Charleston. This resulted from Spain's recognition by treaty of the existing English establishments in the New World.

The construction of Castillo de San Marcos began with ground-breaking on October 2, and the laying of the first stone in November 9, 1672, nearly 300 years ago. The labor force consisted of artisans and convicts, royal slaves, and drafted Indians. The material was coquina, a shellstone quarried on nearby Anastasia Island. Construction proceeded intermittently due to irregular appropriation of funds.

Unexpected events also distracted energies which could have been devoted to construction effort. The Chacato Indians, near present-day Tallahassee, rebelled in 1675, and French pirates raided Port San Marcos de Apalache, south of Tallahassee, in 1677. The Carolinians from Charleston fell upon the coastal Georgia missions at St. Catherine's and St. Simon's Islands (1680), pushing the Florida boundary south to Sapelo Island. Then in 1682 French pirates captured Fort San Marcos de Apalache, ascended the Suwannee River to plunder nearby cattle ranches, and appeared at Mosquito Inlet to the south of St. Augustine.

Unexpected events took place also closer to St. Augustine. Pirates captured the Matanzas Inlet lookout in 1683, and marched on Castillo de San Marcos, but were

stopped only a mile and a quarter away on Anastasia Island, while the townspeople took refuge within the unfinished walls. Pirate reconnaissance parties came ashore north of St. Augustine and at the mouth of the St. Johns River in 1684. Indians, aided by the English, fell upon Santa Catalina de Afuica Mission in north-central Florida (1685). Finally, Monsieur Grammont, a notorious pirate, set foot ashore at Matanzas Inlet in 1686, only to be stopped cold in a hard two-day fight. No wonder the Spanish Court regarded Florida as being in a state of continuous warfare during the last quarter of the 17th Century.

Despite these distractions, the main part of Castillo de San Marcos was finished in 1686. Pine beams spanned the distance between the main wall and the courtyard wall. Over the beams there was a covering of planks, topped by the tabby making up the surface of the terreplein. Under the terreplein were the quarters, the chapel, and the storerooms. The Spanish did not finish the moat excavation and the seawall on the bay side of the Castillo until 1695.

The American phase of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13), called Queen Anne's War in U. S. history, subjected Castillo de San Marcos to its test of strength and rolled the effective northern boundary of Florida to the St. Mary's. The English occupied St. Augustine in 1702 to forestall a possible Franco-Spanish hostile combination against Carolina, but not

before the Spanish succeeded in communicating the event to Habana via Matanzas Inlet. The enemy unsuccessfully besieged the fortification for 50 days. The townspeople had come into Castillo for protection. Before withdrawing, the English set fire to the city. Thus, Castillo represents the link between the St. Augustine of ~~1565~~ the 16th century (1587) and the "new" city that rose slowly from the ashes. During the destruction of the religious missions to the north and west of St. Augustine in 1702-05, the Christian Indians were carried off as slaves and the Spanish forced to withdraw to a small area around St. Augustine. Castillo was the core of this enclave that held on and thus saved Florida for Spain.

This war period saw the emergence of additional defenses for the protection of St. Augustine. A palisade with six small redoubts, called the Cubo Line, was built in 1704-05 to gird the north city limit from Castillo de San Marcos to the San Sebastian River and prevent land invasion. In its first reconstruction (1718-19), the line became an earthwork with three redoubts. A quarter mile north of Cubo Line, a palisade named the Hornwork Line, with a redoubt at Nombre de Dios Mission and another at the San Sebastian River, was built in 1706, rebuilt probably in 1716, and then allowed to disappear. In the area between the Cubo and Hornwork Lines, Indian war refugees cultivated the land and tended to cattle. The Rosario Line, an

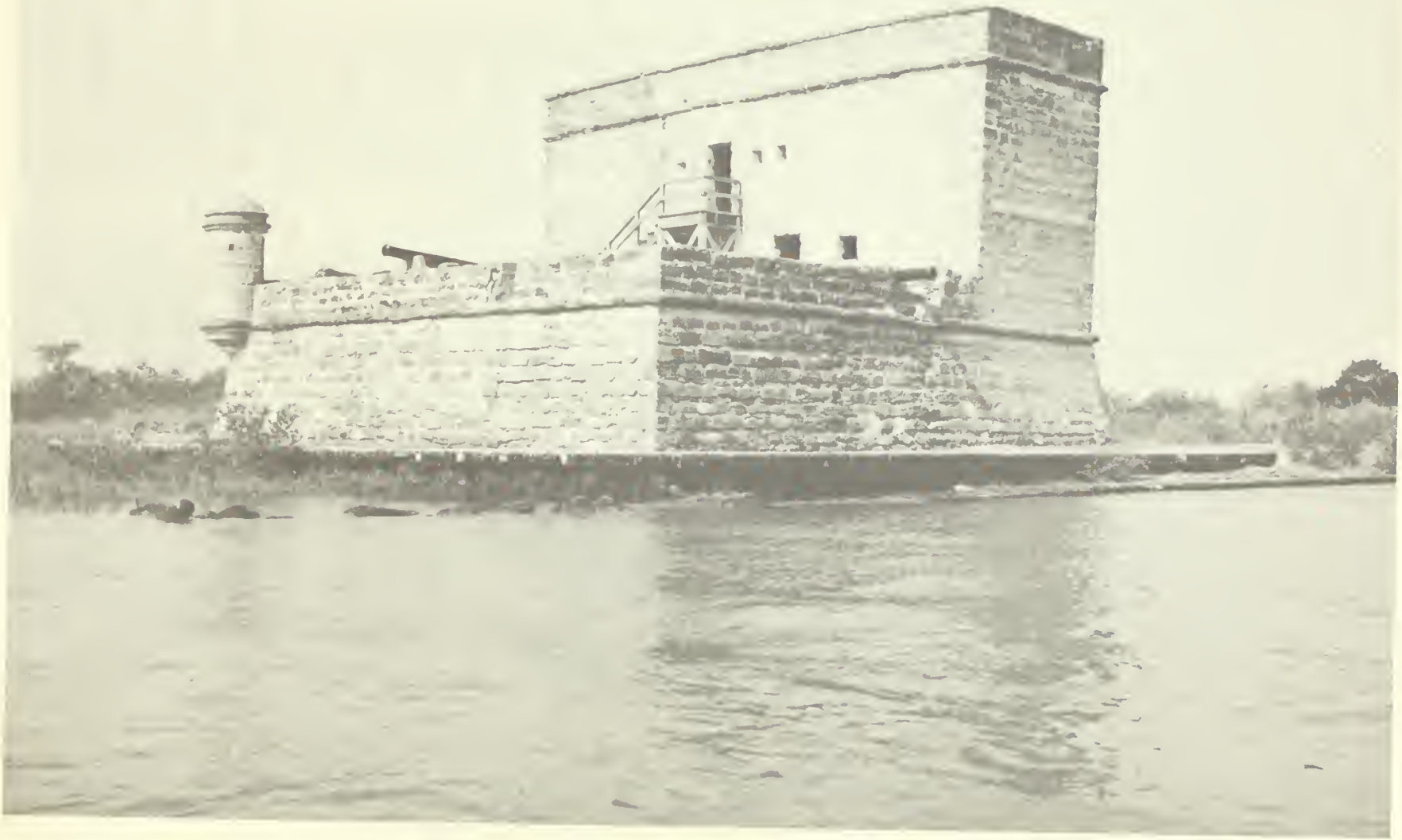
earthwork with seven redoubts built in 1718-19, ran along the west and south city limits. Reconstructed around 1741-42, and never kept up adequately thereafter, it finally disappeared during the British regime in St. Augustine.

While Anglo-Spanish disputes over Caribbean trade and the Georgia country were brewing in the decade of 1720 and 1730, Castillo de San Marcos fell into a state of complete disrepair. The beams supporting the terreplein rotted where they entered the main and courtyard walls. The sagging terreplein had to be propped lest it cave in completely. Castillo was in no condition to counter effectively the contingencies that would arise from the English founding of Savannah (1733) and the further southward expansion to St. Simons' Island, where Fort Frederica was built in 1736.

The construction work which eventually gave Castillo de San Marcos the appearance that it retains today began in 1738. The work consisted in replacing the beams supporting the terreplein with massive masonry vaults. Only the water side of Castillo was thus rebuilt before the outbreak of the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739 stopped construction. Concurrently, Fort Mose was constructed in the latter year, about a mile and a half north of Castillo, to shelter the Negro slaves who had been fleeing from Carolina on and off since 1688.

General James Oglethorpe of Georgia administered the second major ordeal by fire to Castillo de San Marcos in 1740. With a fleet blockading the harbor, the British divided their army into three groups, one each on Anastasia Island, Point Cuartel (Vilano Beach), and Fort Mose, which had been evacuated by the Spanish. Each position was incapable of adequately supporting the other because water separated one from another. Governor Manuel de Montiano of Florida struck the first decisive blow by destroying the camp of Scotch Highlanders isolated at Fort Mose, which he then ordered razed. Furiously, the British bombarded St. Augustine and the Castillo from Cuartel and Anastasia, and the Castillo cannon replied in kind. Only starvation threatened the Spanish seriously. The British aware of the food shortage blockaded Matanzas Inlet to prevent relief via that southern approach to the city. However, ~~supply ships~~ S. Aug. vessels, exchanging fire with the blockaders, forced their ~~way into~~ way out of the inlet, ~~and~~ reached ~~St. Augustine.~~ from Habana anchored at Mosquito, and returned with some provisions. supply ships Unable to obtain decisive results, Oglethorpe gave up.

During the course of the war, two significant additions were made to the St. Augustine defenses. Matanzas Inlet had demonstrated its value well as a route of communication in the attack of 1740. However, an enemy could use that



southern approach to St. Augustine just as the Spanish were using it. To control that waterway effectively, the Spanish completed in 1742 the construction of a masonry tower on a very small island just north of the inlet. Thus Fort Matanzas became a more effective outpost of St. Augustine than the lookout towers had ever been. In St. Augustine, a second Hornwork Line was begun in 1743 on the site of the same line in 1706 and 1716. This time, however, the Hornwork was an earthwork rather than a palisade.

After the cessation of hostilities (1748), the masonry vaulting of Castillo de San Marcos was finished. This work had been completed on the east side only in 1738-39. In 1752-56, the Spanish finished vaulting the rooms on the three land sides of Castillo. In attestation, they placed their coat of arms and an inscription above the gate. At the same time, the reconstruction of Fort Mose was begun.

Spain entered the Seven Years' War in 1762, and the St. Augustine defenses were improved that year. An earthwork with 5 redoubts was built a mile and a half north of Castillo de San Marcos. It ran from Fort Mose on the east to a small fort under construction on the San Sebastian River shore on the west. The Fort Mose Line, as it was called, gave depth to the defenses by providing for a delaying position in front of the Hornwork and Cubo Line, to the rear in that

order. Also, the Spanish carried out their last major construction on Castillo de San Marcos. They replaced the old, small, and inadequate ravelin in front of the gate with a better one. However, work on it was stopped when news was received that Spain, in order to recover the vital port of Habana which had fallen to the British, would cede Florida to Great Britain. The ravelin was never finished above the cordon, but still the Spanish placed their coat of arms there, carved in stone.

The British period of Florida history began on July 21, 1763, when Castillo de San Marcos was delivered to British officers. The territory governed from St. Augustine by the Spanish was now designated as East Florida, a term which would outlast the British withdrawal a score of years later. St. Augustine became a station in the North American military establishment. Not until 1781, practically the eve of withdrawal, did East Florida get a general assembly, as the other settlements to the north already had.

East Florida remained loyal to Great Britain during the American Revolution. The St. Augustine defenses were strengthened in anticipation of an American attack that never materialized. Additional works were constructed in the covered way of Castle St. Mark (as it was then called), the Cubo Line was reconstructed as a key to the protection

of the city, and the Hornwork became a formidable advanced line. The British gave depth to the defenses west of St. Augustine by building a series of 7 redoubts on the east shore of the San Sebastian River, away from the old Rosario Line location. These redoubts were unconnected by curtains but were mutually supporting by fire. Troops stationed in St. Augustine departed to participate in the campaigns against Georgia and South Carolina. The Castillo became a military prison holding American privateersmen, soldiers captured at the battle of Long Island, and the Carolinians captured at the fall of Charleston. Throughout their stay in East Florida, the British maintained a small outpost at Fort Matanzas. But Great Britain lost the war with her colonies, France, Spain, and Holland. In the peace of 1783, East Florida was returned to Spain.

The second Spanish period of Florida began on July 12, 1784, when the British turned Castillo de San Marcos over to the incoming Spanish governor. East Florida now became an administrative and military dependency of Cuba. A liberal policy allowed immigration from the U. S. only to create in the end a core of settlers whose political aims differed radically from those of Spain. Events in East Florida began to be dominated by strong currents elsewhere. These

events could not be countered with local limited manpower and insufficient financial resources. In 1795, there was French Revolutionary intrigue to take Florida away from Spain. There followed the breakdown of authority and strength overseas after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808. This made Great Britain the ally of Spain, and the former purported to watch over the integrity of Spanish land in Florida but in reality intended to contain U. S. expansionist aims. In 1812, the East Florida Revolutionists attempted, with the support of U. S. Regulars, to eject Spain, establish a rebublic, and then seek annexation to the U. S. In another quarter, the British promised the Creek Indians aid to recover lands lost as a result of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (1814). This promise and Spanish weakness prompted the Creeks to use Florida as a base to raid American territory. This activity brought retaliatory raids and finally invasion by the U. S. and the opening of the Adams-Onish negotiations to solve this multitude of complex problems. The negotiations resulted in the Treaty of 1819, whereby Spain ceded Florida to the U. S. The second Spanish period ended on July 10, 1821, when the Spanish governor turned Castillo de San Marcos over to an American commissioner.

Through all the complex sequence of events in the second Spanish period, the St. Augustine defenses received only the maintenance required to keep them in acceptable condition. The Cubo Line was reconstructed in 1791 and 1808, and in the latter year the masonry pillars of the City Gate were built. The Spanish adopted the concept originated by the British of having the redoubts located west of the city at the San Sebastian River shore, but their penury prevented them from keeping up more than two redoubts. At Castillo de San Marcos, only such essential repairs as waterproofing the terreplein, improving the covered way, and clearing the moat were performed beginning in 1817. The projects to improve the deteriorated condition of Fort Matanzas were never carried out.

Despite these inadequate conditions, the Spanish feeling was that as long as Castillo and the pitifully small remnant of their former power was conserved, honor was saved and there was hope for a better day. For instance, in 1812, with a U. S. regular battalion camped at the ruins of Fort Mose, the Spanish determined to use their limited strength to hold Castillo at all costs and not provoke the U. S. in taking any action directed against St. Augustine.

B. Subsidiary Historical Theme

In 1825, Castillo de San Marcos was renamed Fort Marion, in honor of General Francis Marion of South Carolina, known as the Swamp Fox for his exploits during the American Revolution. Fort Marion became one of the units comprising the U. S. Army Post of St. Augustine. As such, the fort was a logistical base in the early stages of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842).

Fort Marion served as a military prison in the early years of that war. In 1837, a group of Seminoles including Osceola and Coachoochee, its leaders, was confined in one of the vaulted rooms in the southwest part of the fort. Coachoochee made a sensational escape, but Osceola did not because he was ill. Osceola was then moved to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, where he died early in 1838.

In 1843-45, Fort Marion became one of the 19th Century coastal forts, in the chain comprising Forts Monroe, Sumter, Pulaski, and Jefferson. The moat on the east side of the fort was filled in, and barbette-type cannon and a hot shot furnace were installed there.

During the Civil War, Fort Marion was a Federal enclave which prevented the use of St. Augustine's harbor by the Confederates. On January 7, 1861, three days before

Florida seceded from the Union, the fort was surrendered to a state force by its custodian, one lone, elderly sergeant. During the rest of the years, the Confederate blockade runners, Garibaldi, St. Mary's and the Jefferson Davis, operated from St. Augustine. The latter sent several prizes into its home port during a four-month cruise in the Gulf Stream before running aground in St. Augustine Harbor. After the Federal amphibious force, which was seizing harbors for use of blockading squadrons, occupied Fernandina and Jacksonville, the Confederates evacuated St. Augustine and the Federals occupied it on March 11, 1862. By this time, Confederate strategy in Florida called for defense of the interior of the state only. During the remainder of the war, the Federals did not have enough force to venture out of St. Augustine.

Fort Marion was used a second time as a military prison for Indians, but this time for those from the West. In 1875-77, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Comanches were held here under custody of Lieutenant Richard H. Pratt. The efforts of this officer to teach his charges the three R's became the experiments in Indian education which led to the founding of the Carlisle Indian School. Later, in 1886-87, some members of Chief Geronimo's Apache band were kept at Fort Marion. Geronimo himself was held at Fort Pickens in West Florida.

During the Spanish American War, Fort Marion once more served as a military prison. This time those confined there were disciplinary cases in the U. S. Army.

The U. S. Army Post of St. Augustine was finally deactivated in 1907. 1900

C. Relationship of Historical Themes to Natural History, Anthropological, or other themes

There is a relationship to natural history through coquina, the rock used in the construction of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas. Millions of years ago, high water flooded the low-lying coastline of Florida. This water represented the contribution of the melting sheets of the Pleistoncene glacial age. The water was warm and mollusks throve on a tremendous scale. The coquina rock found in Anastasia Island apparently was laid down as a series of beach bars during an interval of the Pleistocene age known as Pamlico time--perhaps half a million years ago--and the sea that produced the beach bars is referred to as the Pamlico sea. The mollusk Donax left vast shell layers at the bottom of the Pamlico sea, which solidified into a mass that, mixed with sand and cemented with calcite from the shells, became rock. Big chunks of coquina can easily be cut and shaped with a carpenter's saw or an axe. Soon thereafter the surface begins to harden and, exposed long enough to the air, the rock actually becomes flinty.

Spanish moss, woods (pine, sabal palmetto, oak, cypress), fish, and shellfish were some of the other natural resources that the Spanish found and used in Florida. The Indian women used moss [genus, Tillandsia or Dendropogon usmeoides] to cover themselves from the waist down, but the settlers used moss for several other purposes. Pine was the material widely used for building houses, wooden forts, and the wood portions of earthworks. From pine, pitch was obtained for the preservative coating of cannon carriages. Late in the 18th Century, sabal palmetto replaced pine in earthwork construction. Oak and cypress had special uses, such as construction of cannon carriages and wall posts. Some of the woods of Florida were considered suitable for ship masts, oars, barrel staves and hoops, and indeed these items were occasionally exported to Habana. Fish and shellfish were consumed as food, and lime for construction uses was obtained by burning oyster shells.

There is a relationship to anthropology through the recorded presence of Indians in the immediate surroundings of St. Augustine, and the sites of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas. The settlement and the first fortification began concurrently in an Indian village located a quarter mile north of Castillo. This site continued to be inhabited by the Indians until approximately 1737, when the

population numbered 43 men, women, and children. The site was also the location of the right flank of the Hornwork Line in 1706 and subsequent years, and again in 1743. The land from the site south to the Cubo Line was occupied by Christian Indians uprooted from north-central and West Florida by the English destruction of the Spanish missions. In 1737, a village of Costa Indians (22 men, women, and children) was located approximately 185 yards from the point of the northwest bastion of the Castillo, on today's Fort Green.

There were four other Indian villages to the west and south of St. Augustine in 1737. Located outside the Rosario Line (city earthwork wall), Tolomato (47 men, women, and children) was some 295 yards due west of San Pedro Bastion in Castillo de San Marcos. Palica (65 persons) was located approximately a half mile southwest of Castillo. La Punta (34 inhabitants) was located a little less than a mile south of Castillo.

There were no Indian settlements in the area surrounding Fort Matanzas in 1565, and it is not known when they first appeared there. However, in 1725 Pocotalaca Indians, who had sought refuge in St. Augustine after the English destroyed the Spanish missions, were settled at

Las Rosas de Ayamón, a short distance south of Matanzas Inlet. In that year, English-aided Indians attacked the Pocotalacas, and the survivors were moved closer to St. Augustine. By 1727, Ayamón had been occupied again by 200 Indians, but habitation was by no means permanent because the Indians came and went as circumstances dictated. Ayamón was being occupied in 1735 but in 1739 it was empty again. In 1739, another Indian settlement named San Nicolás was located a short distance north of Matanzas Inlet.

D. Statement of Historical Significance

Castillo de San Marcos is the symbol of the 235-year presence of Spain in today's southeastern United States. Spain's settlement of Florida confirmed and strengthened her title to this section of the Spanish "borderlands," and continuous occupation denied the use of Florida's east coast as the site of potential hostile bases against the vital seaway.

The Anglo-Spanish struggle for the Southeast opened with an English foothold in the area, and as the intensity of the contest increased, the wooden fort in Florida would prove inadequate to contain English expansion. Thus Spain constructed the masonry fortification that still survives to remind us of her contribution in the settlement of the continental United States. Castillo de San Marcos indeed played a major part in delaying the advent of English surpemacy in the Southeast.

Since the Castillo was the first masonry fortification built within the continental United States, it is therefore the oldest. It is also the best preserved, and it clearly illustrates the development of European military architecture and its transplantation and adaptation to the New World.

Fort Matanzas. On the southern tip of Anastasia Island next to Matanzas Inlet, Spain completed decisively the victory begun at Fort Caroline in her struggle with France for control of Florida, for here Menéndez slaughtered Ribault and his band of Frenchmen, the last of the Fort Caroline colonists. Perhaps more important to the Spanish was the fact that the inlet provided entrance to a waterway navigable all the way to St. Augustine, and that it left the city with an unprotected rear. To detect an approaching enemy and also to keep an alternate avenue of communication open if St. Augustine Inlet were to be blocked, Spain built near Matanzas Inlet successive wooden watchtowers and finally a masonry structure in 1740-42.

Thus Fort Matanzas stands today as an integral part of the former defenses of St. Augustine. Since the masonry structure was built on a marshy island in the middle of the waterway, Fort Matanzas exemplifies unusual engineering technique and construction skills.

E. Reasons for the establishment of the park

Castillo de San Marcos became Fort Marion in 1825, but this did not erase the past. The structure was regarded as having unusual intangible value originating from its long life. This is the conclusion gathered from remarks made about Fort Marion on various occasions. In 1833, an anonymous person from St. Augustine told Congress that "no one can see the castle, or fort as it is called, without admiration." A year later, Fort Marion was referred to, in another report submitted to Congress, as "an interesting specimen of military fortification in its style and architecture, more perfect than any other in the United States." The resident U. S. Engineer in St. Augustine in 1890, Captain W. M. Black, stated that it was "the intention of the United States to preserve Fort Marion as a relic," and indeed in 1907 the U. S. Engineer Officer for the Jacksonville District reported that Fort Marion was "being preserved as a historical relic." This regard for the historical value of Fort Marion also applied to Fort Matanzas.

It is assumed that Fort Marion, as a component unit of the Post of St. Augustine, was entitled to a share of the maintenance normally performed for preserving the structures comprising the post. However, Corps of Engineer officers

apparently realized that maintaining the fort required consideration of an architectural and historical factor not present in ordinary structures. Presumably, their intellectual capacity made them sensitive to this special requirement and helped them to understand that Fort Marion maintenance should have the character of special preservation.

The War Department, in its Bulletin No. 27, dated July 17, 1915, declared Fort Marion and Fort Matanzas to be national monuments. This action was taken under the provisions of Section 2 of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906 (Antiquities Act). Later, this departmental declaration was found to be insufficient.

The War Department felt inclined in 1921 to relinquish Forts Marion and Matanzas to private ownership. In June, the Department considered the two structures as insufficient in military value to justify retention by the United States, and therefore listed them tentatively for disposal. When the news became known in St. Augustine, it prompted many verbal inquiries and complaints from the local public. The informed segment of that public may have felt that a full determination of the historical value of the structures should first be made to justify disposal or retention.

The proposed disposal of Fort Marion was strongly opposed by the U. S. Engineer District Officer in Jacksonville. In July 1921, he pointed out that Fort Marion had considerable historical value since it was the oldest structure of its kind in the United States; moreover, it was a type of construction almost extinct. The history of the fort, the District Engineer said, had been recently made available by the installation of bronze tablets by the Colonial Dames of America. That the public was keenly interested in the fort, he stated, was shown by the 31,065 visitors during the year ending June 30, 1921. The district officer then delivered his punch line: "To allow a spot so intimately connected with the history of this country to pass into the hands of private parties or to be controlled by State or Municipal authorities would outrage local public sentiment in a manner somewhat similar to what would follow the suggestion that Washington's Monument or Arlington Cemetery be disposed of."

The Southeast Division Engineer supported his subordinate fully. He stated that the intent of the Act of 1906 was that structures officially declared to be national monuments shall be retained and preserved by the Government at its expense. Accordingly, he earnestly recommended the retention of Fort Marion.

In regard to the proposed disposal of Fort Matanzas, the Secretary of War had sought the opinion of Major General W. M. Black, retired Chief of Engineers, who had served in St. Augustine as a junior officer. On July 26, 1922, Black recommended that sufficient steps be taken to insure the preservation of the structure and the submission of a report of inspection on the condition of the structure. The District Engineer in Jacksonville recommended the retention of Fort Matanzas due to "its unique type of construction, its close connection with the early history of Florida, and the public interest which it attracts," and proposed the repairs required for conservation of the structure.

By the spring of 1923, all possibility that the United States would give up title to Forts Marion and Matanzas had passed. As early as July 1922, the two structures had been removed from the list of fortifications available for disposal. Then in March 1923, the Secretary of War visited St. Augustine and stated that the forts were no longer being considered for disposal. By September 1923, the War Department was working on the preparation of a Presidential Proclamation declaring historic areas on certain military reservations to be national monuments.

Forts Marion and Matanzas were proclaimed national monuments on October 15, 1924, by Presidential Proclamation

No. 1713 (43 Stat. 1968). This was done under authority contained in the Act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225). The structures had been recognized as vitally associated with the early Spanish history of Florida and as unique examples of a style of military architecture. On July 1, 1925, the custody of Fort Marion and Fort Matanzas National Monuments was transferred from the U. S. Engineer Office in Jacksonville to the Quartermaster Intermediate Depot in Jeffersonville, Indiana.

Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (5 U.S.C. Secs. 124-32), provided that "all functions of administration of public buildings, reservations, national parks, national monuments, and national cemeteries are consolidated in an Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations in the Department of the Interior." Another document, Executive Order No. 6228 of July 28, 1933 (5 U.S.C. Secs. 124-32), named specifically the national military parks, battlefield sites, national cemeteries, and military and historical national monuments to be transferred from the War Department to the National Park Service. Included in the latter category were Fort Marion and Fort Matanzas National Monuments. Active administration of these monuments by the National Park Service began on July 1, 1935.

Fort Marion National Monument was renamed Castillo de San Marcos National Monument by Act of Congress of June 5, 1942. The original name of the structure was more in keeping with the historical significance of the old fortification.

II. Historical Resources of the Park

A. Tangible resources

1. Sites and structures related to the main theme

a. The site of the English siege trenches in 1702 lies on the Castillo green.

b. The site of the slaughter of the French lies in that portion of Anastasia Island included within Fort Matanzas National Monument.

2. Sites and remains related to subsidiary theme

The location of Castillo is the site of an aboriginal kitchen midden.

3. Historic structures related to main theme

a. The entire Castillo de San Marcos, including ravelin, moat, and covered way, except the water battery.

b. The reconstructed portion of the Cubo Line, which is on top of the remnants of the original line.

c. The City Gate pillars

d. The remnants of the foundation of the King's Smithy at the corner of Castillo Drive and Cuna Street.

e. Fort Matanzas

4. Historic structures related to subsidiary theme
The American water battery on the filled-in east side of the moat, with its gun emplacements and the hot shot furnace.

B. Intangible historical resources

1. The long history of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas provides cultural ties with Spain, England, the United States, Mexico, and Cuba, and it is the most important intangible resource.

2. The role of Castillo and Matanzas and the military life they represented in the social history of Spanish St. Augustine and Florida is another important intangible resource. The citizen who was neither directly employed in the military or governmental hierarchy nor dependent on the military customer was rare in St. Augustine. The number of artisans and yeoman farmers was limited. Civil, legal, and ecclesiastical institutions developed side by side with the military in this Spanish colony.

C. Other historical resources

1. An artillery collection of 19 cannons, 8 howitzers, and 4 mortars at Castillo de San Marcos, and 2 cannons at Fort Matanzas. Eighteen pieces were received with these fortifications in 1935, and since then 14 have been acquired through gift and one through exchange. Twenty pieces are Spanish in origin, five are Swedish, and the eight howitzers are American. The cannons at Castillo are 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 16, 18, and 24-pounders; the howitzers are 24-pounders and 8-inchers; and the mortars are 9-inchers. The pieces at Matanzas are 9-pounders. The cannons are dated 1690, 1700, 1737, 1740, 1743, 1750, 1762, 1768, and 1798; the howitzers, 1777-1812, 1840-46, 1841, and 1846; and the mortars, 1774-1812, 1840-46, 1841, and 1846; and the mortars, 1774, 1783, 1784, and 1807. The bronze pieces are a 2-pounder (named San Marco), two 4-pounders (La Sibila and Jazmin), a 6-pounder, a 12-pounder (Facheno), a 16-pounder (El Camilo), and the mortars. The mortar dated 1783 is named El Icaro, and the one dated 1807 is named Abajado. The other fifteen cannons and the eight howitzers are iron pieces. The estimated cost of this collection is $38,724.

Eight cannons at Castillo and two at Matanzas are, or will soon be, mounted on reconstructed carriages costing $12,960.

2. A collection of approximately 2,000 objects found mostly within the park boundaries or in the environs of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas. Some objects have been acquired through gift. The collection consists of Indian, Spanish, and English sherds, bottles and fragments thereof, gun flints, arrowheads, human and animal skeletal remains, an American 19th Century field artillery carriage with ammunition chest, artillery parts and tools, authentic and reproduced small firearms and edged weapons, ammunition, common and military buttons, tobacco pipes and stems, samples of construction materials, construction tools, hardware used in buildings, and coins.

III. Status of Research

A. Research Accomplished

The research needs for Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas were initially outlined in 1940 by Albert Manucy, NPS Junior Historical Technician, in a paper entitled "Research Status and Needs at Fort Marion."

It was recognized that there was need for (1) a detailed construction history of the structures, placed in context with (2) a comprehensive account of historical events, and with (3) the social-cultural aspects providing identification with the life experience of the visitor. However, due to the press of emergency construction projects from the outset of administration of Castillo and Matanzas by the NPS, the history of research became one of problem-oriented studies dealing primarily with the preservation and enhancement of the historic structures. Most of the projects grew out of needs of the moment, as it is evident from the predominant character of the listing that follows:

1. Historic sites, structures, archeology

A. C. Manucy, Preliminary Memorandum Relating to Certain Historical Areas at St. Augustine and Anastasia Island (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 33 pp., illustrations, maps)

----- and C. R. Vinten, Report on a Field Trip to the Probable Site of Spanish Quarries on Anastasia Island near St. Augustine, Florida (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1945. Typescript, 99 pp., map)

-----, Memorandum on the Inner or Third Defense Line, St. Augustine, Florida (St. Augustine, The Historical Program, 1937. Typescript, 31 pp.)

W. J. Winter, Archeological Reports on the Third Line of Defense (St. Augustine: The Historical Program, 1937. Typescript, 160 pp., illustrations)

J. W. Griffin, Archeological Investigations of the Cubo Line (Richmond: NPS SE Region, 1963. Typescript, 34 pp., illustrations)

A. C. Manucy, Historic Structures Report: The Cubo Line, part I (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1963. Typescript, 8 pp., illustrations) RSP-CASA-H-6

-----, Historic Structures Report: The Cubo Line, part II (architectural data section) (St. Augustine, Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1963. Typescript, 10 pp., illustrations) RSP-CASA-H-6

Drawing No. NM-CSM 3018, Cubo Line Reconstruction, Nov. 29, 1963, 5 sheets.

Unnumbered drawing (PCP M-45), Cubo Line-City Gate, May 13, 1964, 1 sheet.

A. C. Manucy, Historic Structures Report: The Cubo Line, part III, Reconstruction, (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1966. Typescript, 63 pp., illustrations) RSP-CASA-H-6

-----, Historic Structures Report: Improvements at the City Gate, part I (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1964. Typescript, 9 pp., illustrations) RSP-CASA-H-7

-----, Historic Structures Report: Improvements at the City Gate, part II (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1964. Typescript, 57 pp., illustrations) RSP-CASA-H-7

-----, Historic Structures Report: Improvements at the City Gate, part III (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1966. Typescript, 17 pp., illustrations) RSP-CASA-H-7

Drawing No. NM-CSM 3030, Improvements at the City Gate, Aug. 19, 1964, 5 sheets.

Unnumbered drawing (PCP M-45), Improvements at the City Gate, Aug. 18, 1964, 1 sheet.

A. C. Manucy and Luis R. Arana, Historical Significance of Federal Building [St. Augustine] (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1965. Typescript, pp. ii, 20, illustrations, map)

R. H. Steinbach, The Smithy Site: An Exploratory Archeological Investigation (St. Augustine: Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, 1962. Typescript, pp. 18, illustrations, plates)

A. C. Manucy, Memorandum Relative to Conditions near Fort Matanzas before and after the Storm of 1893 (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1940. Typescript, 6 pp. map)

John R. Dunkle, Matanzas Inlet: A Geographic Analysis of Sequential Changes (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1964. Typescript, 110 pp. maps) FOMA-H-4

Stephen J. Gluckman, An Archeological Survey of Fort Matanzas National Monument (Palatka: St. Johns River Junior College, 1966. Typescript, 11 pp. map) FOMA-A-1

2. Technical Reports: construction and ordnance

A. C. Manucy, Preliminary Memorandum Relating to Buildings Erected in the Courtyard during the Construction of Fort Marion (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 4 pp. plates)

J. C. Harrington, J. M. Goggin, and A. C. Manucy, "Archeological Excavations in the Courtyard of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXIV, No. 2 (October 1955), 99-141

A. C. Manucy, Terreplein Construction Fort Marion National Monument: Notations on its Original Character (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 20 pp., illustrations, plates)

Drawing No. NM-CSM 3019, Terreplein Waterproofing, December 1963, 1 sheet.

A. C. Manucy, Report on Investigation of Firing Steps at Fort Marion National Monument (St. Augustine: Fort Marion National Monument, 1939. Typescript, 14 pp. illustrations, plates)

-----, Report on Repair of Firing Steps Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1947. Typescript, 6 pp., illustrations)

-----, Data Relative to the Depth of the Moat at Fort Marion 1672-1940 (St. Augustine: Fort Marion National Monument, 1940. Typescript, 15 pp., illustrations, plates)

Thor Borresen, Archeological Notes on the Excavation of Test Holes for the Examination of the Foundations of Fort Marion (Richmond: NPS Region One, 1941. Typescript, 24 pp., illustrations, plates)

A. C. Manucy, The 1948 Conditions of Castillo Foundations: A pictorial record with notes (St. Augustine: Southeastern National Monuments, 1948. Typescript, 32 pp., illustrations)

-----, Report on Masonry Stablilization at Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments from October 1947 to October 1949 (St. Augustine: Southeastern National Monuments, 1949. Typescript, 52 pp., illustrations, plates)

-----, Report on Rehabilitation of Seven Doorways at Castillo de San Marcos (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1953. Typescript, 29 pp., illustrations, plans)

Drawing No. NM-CSM 2068, Restoration of Doors, April 21, 1953, 11 sheets.

A. C. Manucy, Completion Report on Rehabilitation of Doorways at Castillo de San Marcos (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos NM, 1954. Typescript, 9 pp. illustrations)

Drawing No. NM-CSM 3017, Reconstruction of Upper Floor, Room 12 [British], August 12, 1963, 2 sheets.

F. H. Crowe, Drawbridge Study (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1940. Typescript, 64 pp., illustrations, plates)

Thor Borresen, Archeological Investigation of the Vestibule and Drawbridge Landing at Fort Marion (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1942. Typescript, 18 pp., illustrations)

Drawing No. NM-CSM 3005A, Restoration of [Main] Drawbridge, October 19, 1958, 9 sheets. Includes floors of Sally Port and guardrooms, and portcullis.

Thor Borresen, Study Relating to Ticket Office (Demilune) Fort Marion National Monument (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1940. Typescript, 12 pp., illustrations, plates)

Drawing No. NM-CSM 3007, Restoration of Ravelin Drawbridge, June 1959, 13 sheets.

A. C. Manucy, Notes on the Excavation of Colonial Floors in the Sally Port and Guardroom Area at Castillo de San Marcos (Richmond: NPS Region One, 1960. Multilith, 137 pp. illustrations, plates)

Drawing No. NM-CSM 2091, Restoration of Guardroom Bunks, February 12, 1960, 1 sheet.

Unnumbered drawing (PCP M-31, M-43), Restoration of Castillo Glacis, September 14, 1964, 1 sheet.

U.S. Engineer File No. 3-8-10, 429, Fort Matanzas National Monument--Investigation of Bank Erosion, November 1935, 5 sheets.

NPS File No. 64.8-37/38, Fort Matanzas National Monument--Shore Protection, West Bank, May 4, 1936, 2 sheets.

Drawing No. NM-MAT 1056, Entrance Stairway Fort Matanzas, April 21, 1937, 1 sheet.

Unnumbered drawing, Footing Details, Fort Matanzas National Monument, July 1937, 1 sheet.

Unnumbered drawing, Landing Platform for Fort Matanzas, March 1938, 1 sheet.

Drawing No. NM-MAT 1052, Reconstruction of Arch, Fort Matanzas, September 24, 1938, 2 sheets.

Unnumbered drawing, Plan for Tie Rods, Fort Matanzas, February 28, 1939, 1 sheet.

Drawing No. NM-MAT 2051, Emergency Protective Work, Fort Matanzas, March 5, 1940, 1 sheet.

Drawing No. NM-MAT 5300A, Shore Protection East of Fort Matanzas, August 29, 1947, 1 sheet.

Drawing No. NM-MAT 3003A, Shore Stabilization Fort Matanzas, April 1966, 3 sheets.

Thor Borresen, Report on Spanish Guns and Carriages, 1686-1800 (Yorktown: Colonial NHP, 1938. Typescript, 47 pp., illustrations)

-----, Report on Embrasure, Gun, and Carriage for Fort Marion National Monument (Yorktown: Colonial NHP, 1939. Typescript, 19 pp., illustrations, plates)

A. C. Manucy, Preliminary Memorandum on Armament of Fort Marion Before 1821 (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 6 pp.)

H. E. Kahler and F. H. Crowe, Hot Shot Furnaces (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 44 pp.)

A. C. Manucy, The Stetson Collection of Spanish Sources (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 15 pp.)

-----, Key to Historical Bas Map (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 13 pp.)

-----, Fort Marion National Monument Guide Manual (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1939. Typescript, 184 pp. maps) Compiled for interpretive training. Subsequent information has made this practically useless.

-----, Research Status and Needs at Fort Marion (St. Augustine: Fort Marion NM, 1940. Typescript, 59 pp.)

A. C. Manucy, The Building of Castillo de San Marcos (Interpretive Series History No. 1; Washington: NPS, 1942, 34 pp. illustrated, maps.) A general booklet of public interest but in need of revision.

----- and Alberta Johnson, "Castle St. Mark and the Patriots of the Revolution," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXI, No. 1 (July 1942), 3-24.

-----, The History of Castillo de San Marcos & Fort Matanzas from Contemporary Narratives and Letters (Source Book Series No. 3; Washington: NPS, 1945), 38 pp., illustrated, maps. Covers high points only of the history of St. Augustine until 1821. Prototype of what can be done on an expanded coverage basis.

-----, "Some Military Affairs in Territorial Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXV, No. 2 (October 1946), 202-211.

----- and Omega G. East, "Arizona Apaches as 'Guests' in Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXX, No. 3 (January 1952), 294-300.

Omega G. East, "St. Augustine During the Civil War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (October 1952), 75-91.

Luis R. Arana,"The Queen of Battles in Florida, 1671-1702" (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1960. MA thesis, pp. viii, 116)

-----, "The Day Governor Cabrera Left Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXX, No. 2 (October 1961), 154-163.

-----, "The Alonso Solana Map of Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XLII, No. 3 (January 1964), 258-266.

-----, "The Exploration of Florida and Sources on the Founding of St. Augustine," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIV, Nos. 1-2 (July-October 1965), 1-16.

John J. TePaske, The Spanish-French Struggle in Florida: The Incidents at Matanzas (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, 1965, Typescript, 82 pp.) FOMA-H-2.

Unnumbered, The Mose Site. During the racial incidents in St. Augustine in 1964, the Federal community relations officers asked the superintendent for information on a positive historical role of Negroes in Spanish St. Augustine. Since Mose had been a settlement for freedmen and also the station of Negro militia, the available notes to this effect were written up as a paper by Historian Arana.

Thus, the historical research that has yielded the data at hand about Castillo and Matanzas has dealt primarily with the site and the physical plant. This knowledge has been fundamental for conserving the historic structures through stablilization, restoration, and reconstruction projects. Despite the amount of data of this nature on hand, there are many aspects of construction still completely untouched.

Most of the data used in interpretation at Castillo and Matanzas have been derived from the same research mentioned in the preceding paragraph. For this reason, the material lacks both continuity and the social-cultural information that relates human activity with the historic structures. Therefore, we have not come close to a comprehensive history as a foundation for an interpretive program that goes beyond political, architectural, and constructional history.

B. Research in Progress

The purpose, need, and use of historical information that are required for carrying out the Mission 66 program of Castillo de San Marcos are described in the research study proposals listed below. In 1962, the completion of the park's Mission 66 program was stepped up from fiscal year 1967 to fiscal year 1965 as a gesture of cooperation with St. Augustine's 400th Anniversary celebration in 1965.

RSP-CASA-H-1, Spanish Soldier of 1740. Need for data on uniform, pay, food, and life of an ordinary soldier for use in museum exhibits. Data was obtained by Park Historian Luis R. Arana, but the notes have not been written up as a report.

RSP-CASA-H-2, 1740 Diorama. Need for data on architectural details of Castillo's northeast bastion, type of cannon emplaced therein, and probable morning weather conditions to portray British opening of fire at 8 a.m. on June 24, 1740. Data on uniforms obtained in CASA-H-1 was also used. Notes have not been written up as a report.

RSP-CASA-H-4, The Smithy. Need for data on the smithy which stood on the foundations uncovered in 1960 in a lot used as temporary parking area. Data was needed for general information and management guidance, and was obtained by Historian Arana. An incomplete draft of a report is available.

RSP-CASA-H-5, The Chapel. Need for data on the Castillo room in use as chapel in 1763 and its furnishings in order to accept or decline a private offer to

restore the chapel. Data was obtained by Historian Arana indicating that the use of the room as a formal chapel had been exaggerated by tradition. The offer was declined. An incomplete draft of a report is available.

RSP-CASA-H-6, Cubo Line. Need for comprehensive data on a defense line running westward from Castillo in order to reconstruct a portion of it. Data was obtained by Historians Manucy and Arana. Construction drawings were made by Manucy. Final reports were made by Manucy (see III, A, 1 above). An incomplete comprehensive historical data section in draft form by Arana is available.

RSP-CASA-H-8, British Room. Need for data to reconstruct one of the second floors that the British added to the rooms of Castillo. Historian Manucy obtained the construction data, made construction drawings. Historical notes by Historian Arana have not been written up as a report.

RSP-CASA-H-9, Latrines. Need for data to determine feasibility of reconstructing seats in the two necessaries under the terreplein ramp of Castillo. Historian Arana did not find any meaningful data and the proposal was dropped.

C. Cooperation with non-Service persons or institutions

1. The Government of Spain retains a keen interest in Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas because these structures are tangible evidence of the Spanish past in a part of America. Castillo particularly is the object which crystallizes desire for inter-cultural contact with the United States and the magnet which attracts practically every important Spanish official visiting this country.

The interest is deep and sincere and can be excited at the slightest indication that Castillo needs something in a meaningful celebration connected with the Spanish past in Florida.

Lt. Gen. Benito Miranda, Commander of the 7th Military Region in Spain, while visiting Castillo in 1956 as a colonel, military attache in Washington, D. C., emerged as a strong friend of Castillo. He interested the Minister of the Army in donating the objects that make up four museum exhibits. During St. Augustine's 400th Anniversary celebration, without solicitation, he encouraged the Minister of the Army, Lt. Gen. Camilo Menendez Tolosa, to send a replica of a sword of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, founder of St. Augustine, as a specially inscribed gift from the Spanish Army to Castillo de San Marcos. This was a timely gesture because Castillo did not have a very active participation in the celebration. In an emotional ceremony, the head of the Spanish delegation, Lt. Gen. Camilo Alonso, Minister of the Interior, presented the sword to Secretary Udall. A year later, Gen. Menendez Tolosa made a side trip to St. Augustine during an official visit to Washington just to see Castillo and the sword.

Every time the Spanish training ship Juan Sebastian Elcano has called at a Florida port close to St. Augustine,

the crew has staged a simple ceremony at Castillo. Officers, midshipmen, and sailors have formed on the terreplein, hoisted both the American and the Spanish flag, and performed close order drill. The visitors present were impressed with the spectacle.

The Minister of Tourism and Information, Mr. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, has visited Castillo and was the force behind the donation of a wood-sculpted statue of St. Mark to the Castillo.

The Spanish Association of the Friends of the Castles always expresses admiration for the way the National Park Service has conserved Castillo and Matanzas. Its president, the Marquess de Sales, has visited both structures. He was active in having the Association award a silver medal to Historian Albert Manucy for his participation in planning and installation of museum exhibits in Castillo.

2. The St. Augustine Historical Society complements the military-governmental historical role of Castillo de San Marcos. Primarily oriented toward the social history of St. Augustine and St. Johns County, the Society studies houses, customs, dress, articles of use, and genealogy. It called upon the NPS to set up its museum, and occasionally carried out requests from the NPS, such as financing The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 by C. W. Arnade. The Society

is the repository of a vast number of books on Spanish activity in the Southeast, Florida, and St. Augustine, of a microfilm of the North Carolina Collection, a microfilm of Woodbury Lowery's "Florida Manuscripts," a microfilm of documents about Florida in the Mexican national archives, and microfilm and photostats of certain portions of the East Florida Papers. Mrs. Doris C. Wiles, the administrative historian, is an excellent bibliographer on any period of Florida social history.

3. The St. Augustine Foundation of the Diocese of St. Augustine operates the Mission of Nombre de Dios, and is concerned with the ecclesiastical history of St. Augustine and Florida. As its contribution to the 400th Anniversary, the Foundation financed the publication of the translation of the last untranslated source on the founding of St. Augustine, acquired microfilms of the whole Stetson Collection and the entire East Florida Papers, and planned the construction of a library on the Mission grounds for research in archival materials on the Southeast, Florida, and St. Augustine. In addition, the Foundation holds most of the St. Augustine Parish Registers to 1763 and the papers of the Diocese of St. Augustine. Father Dr. Michael V. Gannon, director of the Mission of Nombre de Dios, has furnished the advice and guidance behind the extraordinary acquisitions program.

The microfilms of the Stetson Collection and the East Florida Papers at the Mission, together with the holdings of the NPS and the institutions mentioned in this sub-section, have concentrated in St. Augustine most of the major collections of archival material in the United States for the study of Spanish Florida history. Those collections missing are accessible in microfilm at the University of Florida, only 75 miles away. St. Augustine within the past four years has become a potential center for the study of Spanish Florida history.

4. The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission is a state agency engaged in historical reconstruction of houses and shops of Spanish St. Augustine. The Commission holds a limited amount of microfilm of material in Biblioteca Central Militar (Madrid) dealing with buildings and maps of St. Augustine. Since its creation, the Commission has not had a historian who would immerse himself in sources to the degree required for effective interpretation of their historical reconstructions. However, its archeologist, Mr. Robert H. Steinbach, has mastered the relationship between the remains of Spanish-built structures in the ground and Spanish colonial architecture in St. Augustine.

5. Through the recommendation of Dr. Arturo Arnaiz y Freg, University of Mexico, who had visited Castillo, the

government of Mexico donated to Castillo a microfilm reel of royal decrees (1645-1749) dealing with Florida. The original decrees are in Mexican archives.

IV. Research Needs

A. Site Identification Studies

None

B. General Background Studies

1. The Nine Wooden Forts of St. Augustine, 1565-1675

Nine successive wooden forts preceded Castillo de San Marcos. The location of 4 is known, while that of 5 is only suspected. The 6th and 9th forts were attacked in 1586 and 1668 respectively. Data are needed on the location, appearance, armament, and individual history of these forts. This information would furnish continuity in the story of the St. Augustine fortifications and would define the background of Castillo. At present, the story told gives the impression that Castillo was the very first fortification in St. Augustine. Upon questioning by the visitors, the impression is dispelled, but the background remains hazy because there is no adequate historical information for completely satisfactory answers. Besides interpretation, this material will be used for publication and, if necessary, as a guide for further investigation.

2. The Construction, Manning, and Supplying of the Structures at the Fort Matanzas Area, 1569-1740

Wooden watchtowers and men were continuously located at the Matanzas Inlet area before the advent of masonry-built Fort Matanzas. It is suspected that the location of the watchtowers changed within the area. Enemy hostile activity took place there in 1683, 1686, and 1740. Data are needed on the

location of the successive watchtowers, their appearance, duty and off-duty routine of the sentries stationed there, and details on the combats that took place there. These data would furnish continuity in the story of the area and define the background of the masonry structure. At present, the impression is that there was no occupancy at Matanzas Inlet during the 171-year period from 1569 to 1740. The statement is made that this is not so, but there is no information to support it with detail. The information thus gathered can be used for future master and interpretive planning, museum development, publication, and as guide for additional investigation.

3. The Organization of the Florida Garrison, 1565-1821

St. Augustine was the principal station of a Spanish Florida garrison in 1565-1763, of a British one in 1763-84, and of a second Spanish garrison in 1784-1821. Men were detailed for duty at Castillo de San Marcos, Fort Matanzas, and other locations. Data are needed on the authorized and actual strength; the organic structure of staff, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and logistical units; the regimental or battalion affiliation; armament; mission, tasks, and duty locations; and source and character of manpower. This information would establish the fundamental relationship between the setting represented by the structures and the men who moved therein, which now is not so apparent. At present, knowledge about the garrison is spotty. These data can be used for interpretation along lines of national periods, comparative interpretation of one period with another, museum exhibits, and publications.

C. Studies for Interpretive Developments

1. The Soldier and his Life at Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas, 1565-1821

Information is needed on pay, food, clothing, off-duty activities, personal and career topics, medical needs and assistance, statistics

on physical conditions, etc. The data will identify anonymous historical men with aspects which make up life and relate past and present. This knowledge can be used in museum exhibits and "you-were-there" type of audio talks and special publications.

2. British Occupation of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas, 1763-1784

Research is needed on regular use given to the structures, special use of Castillo de San Marcos as a military prison, structural changes prompted by the outbreak of the American Revolution, new concepts of defense for St. Augustine, etc. This information would link history of construction and defense during this period with preceding and succeeding Spanish periods, and thus furnish continuity to the main historical theme. Data can be used for regular interpretation, comparative interpretation of this period with the others, and for publications.

3. The British Attack on St. Augustine, 1740

The second of two major English attacks, the one in 1740 encompassed a much larger area than that in 1702. St. Augustine, Castillo de San Marcos, and Matanzas Inlet featured in the action. Data are needed on the objective of the attack led by General James Oglethorpe, strength of British and Spanish forces, existing defenses, route of Oglethorpe, tactical dispositions and maneuvering, and outcome. This information would define the action as fully as that in 1702 has been defined, and it subsequently could be used in a special publication.

4. The American Occupation and Use of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas, 1821-1907

The United States Government acquired title to the historic structures in 1821 and contrary to local belief, never relinquished it. Data are needed on events leading to the arrival of U. S. forces at Castillo de San Marcos, Castillo's use as a unit of an army post in St. Augustine, the social and civic effect of that post on the city, the manning, supply,

and medical needs and assistance of the garrison, soldier's life at Castillo in particular, and the limited or non-use of Fort Matanzas and its deterioration.

D. Development Studies

1. Historic Structures Reports

Castillo de San Marcos has never been the subject of a historic structures report. The reports listed in Section III, A, 1 and 2 above and The Building of Castillo de San Marcos (1942) would come closest to a structures report, However, the reports are job-oriented exclusively and The Building of Castillo de San Marcos is a handbook of general, public interest, not adequate as a technical report. Besides, since the writing of the report and the handbook, another extensive source of Spanish material became available in 1955, and indications are that it contains a great quantity of additional data on the construction history of Castillo. A historic structures report encompassing a sufficiently detailed constructional history would suffice for most developmental projects.

Fort Matanzas has never been the subject of a historic structures report. There is a vital need for one. Historic structural and constructional information on this structure is very limited. Despite this limitation, the War Department and the National Park Service have been forced to carry out work on the structure to prevent its disappearance. There have been proposals for master planning teams to visit Matanzas, but their activity along this line would be useless unless there is first a historic structures report.

2. Master Plan Studies

A vicinity historical base map for Castillo de San Marcos is needed to include sites that are not in the park proper but were related to activity in defense of St. Augustine and are therefore an integral part of the park story. These sites include wooden forts, defense lines, position of attackers and defenders, any other locations connected with the historical, natural history, and anthropological themes, and other military structures in St. Augustine.

A vicinity historical base map for Fort Matanzas is needed to include sites that are not in the park proper, but which are in the Matanzas Inlet area and are related to the historical, natural history, and anthropological themes. The sites include location of wooden towers and other structures, landing of pirates in 1683 and 1686, etc.

3. Park History

A park administrative history has not been done for Castillo de San Marcos or Fort Matanzas. Need one especially for Castillo.

V. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH PROPOSALS

RSP No.	Priority No.	Title	Submitted	Scheduled	Comments
CASA-H-1	4	Spanish Soldier of 1740			
CASA-H-4	3	The Smithy			
CASA-H-5	2	The Chapel			
CASA-H-6	1	Cubo Line			
CASA-H-8	5	British Room			
CASA-H-9	6	Latrines: Castillo			
	7	Vicinity Historical Base map: Castillo			
	8	Vicinity Historical Base map: Matanzas			
	9	Historic Structures Report: Castillo			
	10	Historic Structures Report: Matanzas			
	11	British Attack, 1740			
	12	The Nine Wooden Forts, 1565-1675			
	13	Florida Garrison, 1565-1821			

RSP No.	Priority No.	Title	Submitted	Scheduled	Comments
	14	Soldier and His Life 1565-1821			
	15	Construction, Manning and supplying Structures at Matanzas			
	16	British Occupation, 1763-1784			
	17	American Occupation, 1821-1907			
	18	Park Administrative History			

APPENDIX

Bibliography

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument has a small but excellent historical library consisting of both printed and manuscript material. The books for the most part deal in general with the events where the story of Castillo and Fort Matanzas fits specifically.

The primary material consists almost exclusively of microfilm of manuscripts found in repositories in Spain, England, and the United States. There are about 95 reels (some 20,000 pages) of Florida history material, including military construction, organization, personnel, weapons, supplies, financial organization and administration, ecclesiastical organization and administration, religious matters, events, and sundry other subjects. About 2,100 pages of this microfilm material, covering some of the above subjects as they deal with Castillo and Matanzas in the period 1667-1703, have been printed on Xerox paper.

There is a collection of 8,868 photographs and slides, black and white and color, covering Castillo de San Marcos, Fort Matanzas, City Gate and Cubo Line, fortifications in general, colonial fortifications (Fort Caroline, Fort Frederica, San Juan, and Panama), ordnance, architectural and historical

structures and sites (St. Augustine, Florida, and the Virgin Islands), furnishings, artifacts, costume, and interpretation (including Sound and Light). The photos of the historic structures comprised in the collection cover from 1870 to the present, but the bulk falls in the period since administration by the National Park Service began in 1935.

There is a collection of 170 photocopies and tracings of maps dealing with the Southeast, Florida, and St. Augustine, and of construction drawings of Castillo de San Marcos, Fort Matanzas, Fort San Marcos de Apalache, and other southeastern fortifications. These maps and drawings cover the period from 1513 to the present. This material is supplemented by 78 printed Spanish maps of America during the 16th and 17th Centuries. The collection is further supplemented by 458 printed Spanish, English, French, and Dutch maps of America, Canada, the English settlements on the Atlantic coast, the Spanish borderlands (Florida, Louisiana, Texas, the Southwest, California), Mexico, and Central America, covering from the 16th to the early 19th Centuries. These printed maps include construction drawings of fortifications in most of the places mentioned above.

There is a reasonably complete bibliographic file of about 700 cards on books and articles dealing generally with

Florida history; a file of approximately 3,400 calendar cards for Spanish and about 800 calendar cards for British; manuscripts dealing generally with Florida history and particularly with the history of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas; and a file of about 6,600 data cards for the material with which it has been necessary to work.

1. Books dealing with the general period of history

A sampling of the extensive number of books dealing with Spain in the Southeast follows. The bibliographies in these books will serve as guides to additional sources concerning the park story and the general theme of history into which the story falls.

A framework of the whole first Spanish period (1513-1763) of Florida history can be obtained from Andres Gonzalez de Barcia, Chronological History of the Continent of Florida (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951. Pp. lx, 426), covering the ground to 1722, the first publication date of this work. Barcia's is the most important of the earlier general histories of Florida, a territory he viewed as encompassing the eastern half of North America. Barcia therefore goes extensively into the French expansion from Canada down the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. He must not have had access to many of the contemporary

correspondence because he misses events that occurred during his lifetime. The whole period (1565-1763) of successful settlement is traced in Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925. Pp. xvii, 382, illustrations, maps) in Herbert E. Bolton's masterly and accurate introduction, co-authored with Mary Ross, entitled The Debatable Land. The introduction is too brief to be more than an outline. John J. TePaske, The Governorship of Spanish Florida 1700-1763 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964. Pp. xii, 248) does the most complete coverage for the years indicated, from the standpoint of the governor's relations to administrative, judicial, economic, religious, military, and Indian problems. For the religious and ecclesiastical history of the whole first Spanish period and much more, Michael V. Gannon gives a handy comprehensive survey in The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida 1513-1870 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965. Pp. xv, 210, illustrations, maps). More moderate in scope is the Quadricentennial Edition of The Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIV, Nos. 1-2 (July October 1965), where the articles deal with Hernando de Soto (1539), sundry events in 1565-1770, and an isolated event in 1785.

The discovery, exploration, and attempted settlement phase (1513-1561) of the first Spanish period, which laid the basis to the Spanish title to Florida, is the subject matter of Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States 1513-1561 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901. Pp. xiii, 515, illustrations, maps). Lowery recounts the activities of Juan Ponce de Leon, Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, Panfilo de Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, Tristan de Luna, and Angel de Villafane. More recent investigations have made Lowery obsolescent. Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands--A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. Pp. xi, 320) expands the Lowery content by adding those activities that took place in Louisiana, Texas, and California. Bolton is still the best introductory work on the subject.

More recent works must be consulted before accepting entirely what Lowery and Bolton say about some of the activities in the Southeast. The De Luna accomplishments are more fully and better recounted in The Luna Papers--Documents Relating to the Expedition of Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561, 2 vols. (DeLand: Florida State Historical Society, 1928.

Pp. Lxxiii, 271; xv, 383, illustrations) and Tristan de Luna: Conquistador of the Old South--A Study of Spanish Imperial Strategy (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936. Pp. 215), edited as well as authored by Herbert I. Priestly. The pre-Florida career of Ponce de Leon and his discovery of Florida must be revised to an extent since the appearance of Vincente Murga's Juan Ponce de Leon (San Juan: University of Puerto Rico Press, 1959. Pp. 387, illustrations, maps), which is based on wider archival documentation, and still awaits translation from the Spanish. The imprimatur given to the traditional account of Hernando de Soto's exploration through Florida by the scholarly Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. xvi, 400, maps), chaired by John R. Swanton, is being challenged by Warren H. Wilkinson, Opening the Case Against the U. S. De Soto Commission's Report (Jacksonville Beach: Alliance for the Preservation of Florida Antiquities, 1960. Pp. iv, 93, illustrations, maps) and Rolfe F. Schell, De Soto Didn't Land at Tampa (Fort Myers Beach, Florida: Island Press, 1966. Pp. 96, illustrations, maps).

The phase (1562-1565) of the first Spanish period dealing with the French challenge to the Spanish title

over Florida, the settlement of St. Augustine by the Spanish, and the destruction of the French was initiated by Jean Ribault, who wrote The Whole & True Discoverye of Terra Florida in 1563. This work was edited by Jeanette T. Connor (DeLand: Florida State Historical Society, 1927. Pp. xvi, 139, illustrations, maps). A facsimile reproduction of Connor by the Florida Quadricentennial Commission in 1964 contains an excellent bibliographic introduction by Professor David L. Dowd, formerly of the University of Florida. This introduction records the interest of the National Park Service in Fort Caroline. With an obvious French bias, but with factual objectivity, Francis Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, 25th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1891. Pp. xxiv, 473, illustrations, maps) narrates the events facilely and succinctly. Friendly to the Spanish, but still objective and thorough, is Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida 1562-1574 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905. Pp. xxi, 500, illustrations, maps), who gives a characterization of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the nemesis of France in Florida.

Four contemporary sources of the founding of St. Augustine reveal such on-the-spot aspects as choosing a site, defense measures, Indian relations, and logistics.

Menendez wrote seven letters to the crown between August 1565 and January 1566, which were translated by Henry Ware and published in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 2d series, vol. VIII (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1894). This translation needs revision. A translation of the narrative by Father Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, chaplain of the expedition, covering from June 29 to September 29, 1565, appeared in F. F. French, Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, 2d series (New York: Albert Mason, 1875. Pp. xvii, 300). It is a reliable translation. The unfinished biography of Menendez by Gonzalo Solis de Meras, his brother-in-law, ends in July 1567, and it was translated and edited by Jeanette T. Connor as Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Adelantado, Governor and Captain General (DeLand: Florida State Historical Society, 1923. Pp. 282, illustrations, maps). A facsimile reproduction of this work by the Florida Quadricentennial Commission in 1964 contains an excellent bibliographic essay by Professor Lyle N. McAllister of the University of Florida. The biography of Menendez by Bartolome Barrientos ends in December 1568, and it finally appeared in English as Pedro Menendez de Aviles: Founder of Florida (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965. Pp. xxviii, 161, 152). The latter number of pages reproduces the first publication of the work in Spanish in 1902. A biography

for the general reader is Albert Manucy's excellent Florida's Menendez, Captain General of the Ocean Sea (St. Augustine: The Historical Society, 1965. Pp. 104, illustrations, maps), which is also a narrative summary of the known documentary material relating to Menendez's life and career.

The most comprehensive collection of documents dealing with Menendez and his Florida enterprise, including the first three contemporary manuscripts mentioned above, is Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, La Florida: su conquista y colonizacion por Pedro Menendez de Aviles, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1893. Pp. CCXLii, 415; 803, illustrations, maps). This work in Spanish can not be overlooked for any work on the subject.

With France vanquished, the first Spanish period in Florida history entered into its consolidation phase (1565-1668). Certain institutions were adapted to local conditions and St. Augustine ultimately acquired the stamp of a military outpost. The decrees of 1573, governing Spanish town planning in the Western Hemisphere, account for the general similarity of all such communities, and were edited by Zelia Nuttall, "Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying Out of New Towns," Hispanic-American Historical Review, IV, No. 4 (November 1921). In the Colonial Records of Spanish

Florida 1570-1580, 2 vols. (DeLand: Florida State Historical Society, 1925, 1930. Pp. XXXIV, 367, xxxix, 382, illustrations), Jeanette T. Connor gives the Spanish texts and translations of letters and reports of governors and secular persons, royal decrees, and other documents which show primarily the workings of governmental administration in St. Augustine, and incidentally the logistics problem that threatened the survival of the settlement. Ray E. Held, "Hernando de Miranda, Governor of Florida, 1575-1577," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXVIII, No. 2 (October 1949) tells that the son-in-law of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, and heir to the 1565 contract for the Florida enterprise, did not have the ability required to keep on top of the extraordinary problems besetting the settlements under his rule. The growing dissatisfaction about conditions in St. Augustine finally prompted an investigation into the feasibility of moving the settlement to some other place in Florida. This is the event that Charles W. Arnade has narrated fully in Florida on Trial, 1593-1602 (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 100, illustrations, maps).

In consolidating settlement in Florida, the religious authority, by converting the Indians to Christianity, indispensably and inseparably aided the secular authority. The objective was a uniform concept of life and society.

Franciscan priest, Luis Geronimo de Ore, a contemporary observer of the efforts of his co-religionists, wrote The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616), which has been very competently translated and annotated by Maynard Geiger (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936. Pp. xx, 145). Geiger himself went over the same period and subject in the scholarly The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618) (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1937. Pp. xiii, 319). The Jesuit and then the Franciscan missionary activity until destruction by the English in 1702 is the subject of John T. Lanning, The Spanish Missions of Georgia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xv, 321, illustrations, maps). The accomplishments of the missionaries in all parts of the vast territory are recorded with an air of definiteness by P. G. J. Keegan and L. Tormo-Sanz, Experiencia Misionera en la Florida (Siglos XVI y XVII) (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1957. Pp. 404). That the names of the devoted priests who spread the faith have not remained in obscurity, we owe to Maynard Geiger, Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841) (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940. Pp. xii, 140).

The phase of the first Spanish period concerned with the Anglo-Spanish contest for control of the Southeast (1670-1673) began with the settlement of Charleston by the English. It ended with the withdrawal of the Spanish from Florida. The origin and development of the contest have been recounted by Verner W. Crane in his now classic The Southern Frontier 1670-1732 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929. Pp. viii, 359). The outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession (in America the English called it Queen Anne's War) provided the occasion for the first formal and open clash in the Southeast. Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 68, illustrations, maps), tells about the event rather hastily using valuable Spanish manuscripts. A significant result of the war was the English destruction of the Spanish missions, and the sad story has been told by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, Here They Once Stood--The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951. Pp. xvii, 189, illustrtions, maps), and Mark F. Boyd, "Supplementary Documents to 'Here They Once Stood'," The Americas IX (April 1953), translating and editing Spanish documents very effectively.

The escalation of the Anglo-Spanish contest, resulting from English expansion to Savannah and from Spanish hostility toward British trade in the Caribbean Sea, is the subject covered by John T. Lanning in his brilliant The Diplomatic History of Georgia--A Study of the Epoch of Jenkins' Ear (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. ix, 275, illustrations, maps). The Spanish claim to the Georgia country was logically stated by Antonio de Arredondo and has been masterfully translated and edited by Herbert E. Bolton as Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia. All the issues that finally led to war between Britian and Spain were neatly gathered by H. W. V. Temperley, "The Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739," Transactions, 3d series, III (London: Royal Historical Society, 1909. Pp. 40). The trade issues involved in the outbreak of war are the subject of a compact essay by E. G. Hildner, "The Role of the South Sea Company in the Diplomacy leading to the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1729-1739," Hispanic-American Historical Review, XVIII (1938), 322-341.

The war brought about the second major British attempt to capture St. Augustine and also other minor actions. The major attempt is narrated in The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740--A Report to the South Carolina General Assembly,

which was edited by John T. Lanning (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1954. Pp. xxviii, 182, maps). The agreement between the report and Spanish manuscript sources in regard to the action is remarkable. Subsequent minor actions are covered in Edward Kimber, A Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine on Florida (London: 1744. Reprinted from the original edition, Boston: C. E. Goodspeed and Co., 1935. Pp. viii, 36, illustrations).

To recover Habana, lost to the British in 1762 during the Seven Years' War, the Spanish ceded Florida to Britain. Thus ended the first Spanish period of Florida history, and temporarily the Anglo-Spanish contest over the Southeast. Guillermo de Zendegui, "When the British Captured Havana--A Critical Moment in History," Americas, XVI, No. 3 (March 1964), 21-28, deals with the event clearly and concisely. The time table and problems of the evacuation are carefully recorded by Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1764," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XIX, No. 2, (October 1940), 145-154.

The general history of the British period in Florida may be obtained from Charles L. Mowat, East Florida as a

British Province 1763-1784, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943. Pp. ix, 237, illustrations, maps), which has long been the best, most comprehensive, and most concise survey. During the period, an English planter brought a group of Minorcan, Italian, and Greek men and women to work in developing his land grant. Descendants of these people still live in St. Augustine. This story has been covered by Carita Dogget, Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida (Jacksonville: The Drew Press, 1919. Pp. ix, 216, illustrations), who has written an apologia for Dr. Turnbull, her ascendant. E. P. Panagopoulos, New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966. Pp. xii, 207, illustrations, maps), has treated the event more objectively, but still with sympathy toward the indentured workers.

The outbreak of the American Revolution saw East Florida remaining loyal to Great Britain. Burton Barrs, East Florida in the American Revolution (Jacksonville: Guild Press, 1934. Pp. vi, 42, illustrations, maps), is an early, brief account of the use of St. Augustine as a base of operations against Georgia and South Carolina. The problems of the loyalist refugees from the rebellious colonies have been exhaustively and con lusively treated by Wilbur H. Siebert, Loyalists in

East Florida 1774-1784--The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto 2 vols. (DeLand: Florida State Historical Society, 1929. Pp. xiii, 263; x, 431, illustrations, maps).

The second Spanish period of Florida history (1784-1821) resulted from the defeat of Great Britain in the American Revolution and in the concurrent war with France, Spain, and Holland. The conquest of West Florida by force of arms gave Spain a claim for additional territorial compensation. The return of the Spanish and the restoration of their rule under the incoming governor has been thoroughly and stylishly written by Helen H. Tanner, Zespedes in East Florida 1784-1790 (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1963. Pp. ix, 253, illustrations, maps). An exceedingly rich source of information on governmental, military, and financial organization and administration is Joseph B. Lockey, East Florida 1783-1785--A File of Documents Assembled and Many of Them Translated (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. xxiv, 764).

The English aim of dominion over the Southeast had been inherited by the United States. The Spanish concern for the territorial integrity of Florida increased when revolutionary France also conceived plans against that territory. On this subject, Richard K. Murdoch wrote

penetratingly in The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796: Spanish Reaction to French Intrigues and American Designs (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951. Pp. ix, 208). Eventually France bowed out of the picture. However, her invasion of Spain in 1808 caused an enormous impact in Florida, resulting from insufficient Spanish strength to police the frontier adequately. The resultant increased American expansionist agitation is the picture soberly and logically drawn by Rembert W. Patrick, Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954. Pp. x, 359). A brief treatment of a specific border incident is R. K. Wyllis, "The East Florida Revolution of 1812-1814," Hispanic-American Historical Review, IX (1929), 415-445. The complicated series of events that resulted finally in the cession of Florida to the United States are lucidly explained by C. C. Griffin, The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937) and Philip C. Brooks, Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. x, 251, illustrations, maps).

The role of the church during the second Spanish period, in East as well as in West Florida, has been reliably and

thoroughly indicated by Michael J. Curley, Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822) (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1940. Pp. xi, 380).

In the bibliography for the subsidiary historical theme of the park story (1821-1907), perhaps the best source for the general period of history up to 1845 is The Territorial Papers of the United States, Florida, vols. XXII-XXVI (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956-1962), compiled and edited competently by Clarence E. Carter. The moment of the advent of American rule to East Florida by taking possession of Castillo de San Marcos is covered lightly by Rogers W. Young, "The Transfer of Fort San Marcos and East Florida to the United States," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XIV, No. 4 (April 1936), 231-243. The early years of the fortification under the Americans and a summary treatment of the Second Seminole War as viewed from St. Augustine is the subject of Albert C. Manucy, "Some Military Affairs in Territorial Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXV, No. 2 (October 1946), 202-211.

The Second Seminole War has been more adequately covered by Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War--Its Background

and Onset," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXX, No. 1 (July 1951), 3-115. A survey of the life of perhaps the best known Indian war leader is furnished in the Osceola Number, The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXIII, Nos. 3-4 (January-April 1955), 161-305. The sensational escape from Fort Marion by some of Osceola's companions has been painstakingly recorded by Kenneth W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXII, No. 3 (January 1944), 113-133.

The Civil War has been generally and adequately narrated by John E. Johns, Florida During the Civil War (Gainesville: University Press, 1963). Some detail for the operations in the environs of St. Augustine are found in Mary E. Dickison, Dickison and His Men: Reminiscences of the War in Florida, (Louisville, Ky.: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1890. Pp. 266, illustrations), which is a loosely organized compilation of narrative, documents, and even poetry. An excellent article on the war viewed from the relative secure post in St. Augustine is Omega G. East, "St. Augustine During the Civil War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (October 1952), 75-91.

The imprisonment of the Indians in Fort Marion in 1785-77 and the efforts to incorporate them into the mainstream of American life are the subjects of Pratt,

the Red Man's Moses (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. Pp. 285, illustrations) by Elaine G. Eastman, and Richard H. Pratt, Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904 (New Yale University Press, 1964. Pp. xix, 358, illustrations, maps).

The background of the detention of an Apache band in Fort Marion in 1886-87 is found in Anton Mazzanovich, Trailing Geronimo, 3d ed. (Hollywood, Cal.: privately printed, 1931. Pp. 322, illustrations). The situation on the premises was narrated by Omega G. East and Albert C. Manucy, "Arizona Apaches as 'Guests' in Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXX, No. 3 (January 1952, 294-300).

The introduction to the relationship of the historical theme to natural history is furnished by Paul Mason Tilden, "Sea Shells of Destiny," Nature Magazine, LI, No. 2 (February 1958), 93, which is a light-toned, illustrated article for general readers.

The introduction to the relationship of the historical theme to anthropology can be obtained through Hale G. Smith, The European and the Indian: Contacts in Georgia and Florida (Gainesville: Florida Anthropological Society, 1956. Pp. vii, 150, illustrations, maps), which is an analysis and synthesis

of the archeological and historical materials pertaining to the effects of Spanish and English cultures upon the aboriginal cultures of Florida and Georgia to 1800. Northern St. Johns is the archeological period in Florida where St. Augustine history fits predominantly, and it has been defined and described by John M. Goggin in "A Preliminary Definition of Archeological Areas and Periods in Florida," American Antiquity, XIII, No. 2 (October 1947), 114-127, and in Space and Time Perspective in Northern St. Johns Archeology, Florida (New Haven: Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 1952. Pp. 147, illustrations, maps). An excellent bibliographical aid on the anthropological theme is Hale G. Smith, "The Development of Knowledge regarding the Florida Indians" in "Florida Bibliography and Historiography," The Florida Historical Quarterly, xxxvii, No. 2 (October 1958, 156-160).

2. Published material dealing directly with the park

Verne E. Chatelain, The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565 to 1763 (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1941. Pp. vii, 192, illustrations, maps) recognizes the distinctly military character of St. Augustine. It is an eclectic digest and interpretation of materials at hand without tapping the vast resources of the North Carolina and Stetson Collections,

which were available to the author prior to and at the time of publication.

Jeanette T. Connor, "The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine," The Florida Historical Quarterly, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (January, April 1926), 103-111, 171-180, gives some accurate, yet undefined, insights on the location of some of the temporary forts, which can be defined by more critical study of the sources that were available to her.

L. A. Vigneras, "Fortificaciones de la Florida," Anuario de Estudios Americanos, XVI (Sevilla: 1959), 533-552, covers the first 6 forts in St. Augustine and the 4 Santa Elena forts, but he presents no revolutionary new material or interpretation. He seems to have been unaware of Connor's article.

Albert C. Manucy, The Building of Castillo de San Marcos, Interpretive series History No. 1 (Washington: National Park Service, 1942. Pp. 34, illustrations, maps), is the most complete history in print of Castillo construction to 1740 in context with events. It is based on unpublished sources from the North Carolina Collection, but this pioneer work shows need of revision after 25 years, especially since the Stetson Collection was made available to students.

Albert C. Manucy edited The History of Castillo de San Marcos & Fort Matanzas from Contemporary Narratives

and Letters, Source book series no. 3 (Washington: National Park Service, 1943. Pp. vi, 38, illustrations, maps), which provides an excellent guide for future publications of histories portrayed by contemporary material.

Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 68, illustrations, maps), is the only in-depth study of the event based on Spanish sources. It would be more comprehensive if the data from English sources were woven into the narrative.

The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740--A Report to the South Carolina General Assembly. Reprinted from The Colonial Records of South Carolina. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1954. Pp. xxviii, 182, map). In an excellent introduction, John T. Lanning examines the causes for failure as developed in the report, the English disdain for the provincial soldier, and the character of Oglethorpe. This is a source of primary value for Castillo and Matanzas because the account fits remarkably with the contents of the Spanish sources for the event. Combining these sources with the report would result in a master study.

Charles L. Mowat, "The Southern Brigade: A Sidelight on the British Military Establishment in America, 1763-1775,"

The Journal of Southern History, (April 1944), surveys the regimental units stationed in St. Augustine from which details were posted at Castillo and Matanzas.

Albert C. Manucy and Alberta Johnson, "Castle St. Marks and the Patriots of the Revolution," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXI, No. 1 (July 1942), 3-24, is a brief account of American Revolution events touching Castillo, and includes the names of the prisoners brought to St. Augustine in 1776 and 1780.

Rogers W. Young, "The Transfer of Fort San Marcos and East Florida to the United States," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XIV, No. 4 (April 1936), 231-243, is a summary treatment of the controversy over disposition of the artillery and ordnance stores in Castillo, including the briefest account of the procedure of evacuation by the Spanish and occupation by the Americans.

Albert C. Manucy, "Some Military Affairs in Territorial Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXI, No. 2 (October 1946), 202-211, calls brief attention to the condition of Castillo in the early years of American rule, the initial step at preservation by the War Department, and the discovery of the "dungeon."

Kenneth W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXII, No. 3 (January 1944),

113-133, is an accurate account of the escape of some Indians from a room in the southwest corner of Castillo, together with a plan, profile, and measurements of all the room features mentioned in connection with the event.

Omega G. East, "St. Augustine During the Civil War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXI, No. 2 (October 1952), 75-91, gives indication of the appearance of Castillo at the time, of the improvements made on the outworks, and of the units stationed in St. Augustine.

Omega G. East and Albert C. Manucy, "Arizona Apaches as 'Guests' in Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXX, No. 3 (January 1952), 294-300, furnishes a description of the appearance of the Castillo and the room available to hold 500 Indians.

3. Unpublished primary sources

Most of the data required for a comprehensive, reasonably definitive, treatment of the general aspects of the main historical theme, and specifically of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas, is still buried in the major collections of Spanish and British archival material available in the United States. The most important of these collections are listed below.

Florida Manuscripts by Woodbury Lowery, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. A catalogue of manuscripts (1513-1787) relating to Florida, and nine handwritten notebooks covering 1551-1680. This whole collection is available in the Castillo library in 10 microfilm reels.

The Jeanette Thurber Connor Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Usually referred to as the Connor Collection, these are the materials which belonged to the late Florida historian, one of that rare breed of brilliant, wealthy amateurs. The collection consists of 40 boxes (15,569 pages) of photostats and transcripts from material in AGI (Sevilla), Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), and Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris), plus the unpublished writings extant at the time of her death, professional correspondence, and miscellaneous items. The time period covered by the material does not seem to be beyond the 17th Century. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, has a 17-reel microfilm of this collection.

Collection 682, Spanish Records, 1566-1802, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Approximately, 10,000 items (15,120 photostat pages and 1512 typescripts) from records in Archivo General de

Indias (Sevilla), Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid), and Archivo de Simancas (Valladolid). This collection contains 36 items (294 pages) dealing directly with Castillo construction in 1672-1702, which form the base of our knowledge about such construction. This whole collection is available in the Castillo library in 23 microfilm reels plus one reel of translations of selected documents. In addition, five reels comprising 1667-1703, the years of initial Castillo construction, have been printed on Xerox paper (2,100 pages). For quick acquaintance with this collection, see review of Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Quarterly, XXI, No. 2 (October 1942), 152-153, and Albert C. Manucy, "Florida History (1650-1750) in the Spanish Record of North Carolina State Department of Archives and History," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXV, No. 4 (April 1947), 319-332, and XXVI, No. 1 (July 1947), 77-91.

Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Formerly known as the Florida State Historical Society Collection. More than 7,000 items (about 100,000 photostat sheets) from manuscripts in the AGI (Sevilla), ranging from 1518 to 1820. This

collection contains 104 items (1,448 pages) dealing directly with Castillo construction in 1672-1702, of which 25 (198 pp.) are duplicated in the North Carolina Collection. This means that this collection has 79 items (1,250) pages on construction from which data have not yet been extracted. The St. Augustine Foundation has a 62 reel microfilm of the whole collection. The Castillo library has 12 microfilm reels (about 9,996 pages) of items dealing with Castillo construction and military affairs from 1669 to 1762. For quick acquaintance with this collection, see James A. Robertson, "The Spanish Manuscripts of the Florida State Historical Society," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, new series vol. 39 (1930); Charles W. Arnade, "Florida History in Spanish Archives Reproductions at the University of Florida," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXIV, No. 1 (July 1955), 36-50; and William B. Griffen, "The Stetson Collection," The Florida Anthropologist, XIII, Nos. 2-3 (September 1960), 33-36.

Brooks Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Transcripts of manuscripts from the AGI (Sevilla) relating to Florida from 1500 to 1800. 200 items. Castillo library has a 1-reel microfilm of this small collection.

Cedulas Reales, Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico.

Two hundred and twenty-two royal decrees (1,117 pages) addressed to the viceroy of New Spain dealing with Florida matters from 1645 to 1749. Castillo library has a 1-reel microfilm of all these decrees.

Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, several repositories.

Spanish Florida records evacuated to Habana in 1764 plus other records in Cuba--estimated to have been 1,250,000 documents covering period 1767-1865--were shipped to the AGI (Sevilla) in 1888 and 1898, but a few bundles were left in Habana to become the nucleus of the Cuban National Archives. The Library of Congress, the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, the Florida State Historical Society, and other institutions have since acquired photostats from Spain of part of these papers. The selection in North Carolina consists of 474 items dealing with the Southeast and covering the period 1777-1800. Of these, about 100 items relate specifically to East Florida. The photostats obtained by the Florida State Historical Society are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. For partial acquaintance with these papers, see review of List of the "Papeles Procedentes de Cuba" in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission

(Raleigh: 1942. Pp. vi, 78, mimeographed) by Albert C. Manucy in The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXI, No. 4 (April 1943), 358-360. For an in-depth acquaintance, see Roscoe R. Hill, Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1916. Pp. xliii, 594).

British Public Records Office Transcripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Colonial Office series, Class 5, vols. 540-573 is the largest body of British archival material in this country relating specifically to East Florida. Castillo library has an 11-reel microfilm of vols. 540-566, 570 part I, 571-572, 582, and 583 part I.

Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Correspondence between the commander of the British forces in North America and the commanding officers in St. Augustine. The subject is military matters, including construction, during period 1763-1777. Castillo library has a 2-reel microfilm of bundles 540-568, 1,000, and 1,020-1,032, comprising about 342 items (1,000 pages). For a quick acquaintance with these papers, see Charles L. Mowat, "Material Relating to British East Florida in the Gage Papers and Other Manuscript Collections in the

William L. Clements Library," The Florida Historical Quarterly, XVIII, No. 1 (July 1939), 46-60, and the review of Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942, 2d ed. 1953) in The Florida Historical Quarterly, XXII, No. 2 (October 1943), 103-104.

East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. These are the papers in the archive of the governors of East Florida from 1784 to 1821, but it includes correspon- of Governors Justis and Montiano to the governor of Cuba in 1737-41. The collection has about 60,000 original documents. The St. Augustine Foundation has a 175-reel microfilm of the whole collection. From these papers, Castillo library has a microfilm of (1) Series 37: Letters of Justis and Montiano, 298 items (664 pages) in one reel; (2) Series 170-172: To and from the Engineer Officer, 1784-1821, 1,021 items (2,278 pages) in 3 reels; (3) Series 211: Accounts of the Royal Treasury, 1791-1821, 50 items (177 pages) in one reel; (4) Series 260: Inventory of Fortifications and Public Buildings, 1821, one item (46 pages) in one reel; and (5) Series 277: Councils of War and Finance, 1790-1821, 94 items (472 pages) in one reel. For a quick acquaintance with this collection, see Mabel Manning, "The East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress,"

War Department, U.S. Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville District (Florida). File of carbon copies of correspondence dealing with Forts Marion (as Castillo de San Marcos was knwon from 1825 to 1942) and Matanzas between 1907 and 1935, consisting approximately of 1,400 pieces (about 3,000 pages). This file was turned over to the National Park Service and is deposited at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument. These carbons deal with subjects such as encroachments on the reservation, sale of land to encroachers, condemned property, sewer pipe installations through seawall, fencing the reservation, donation of the Powder House lot to the city, Anastasia Island and shore protection there, repairs to Forts Marion and Matanzas, the sea wall, railroad right of way through the reservation, land for school purposes, Mrs. Capo's bathhouse on the Bayfront, a recreation pier, use of Fort Marion for Ponce de Leon celebrations, band concerts in Fort Marion, use of rooms in Fort Marion by the St. Augustine Historical Society, a tower at Fort Matanzas for radio tests, appointment of caretakers and watchmen, and instructions to caretakers. These subjects could be easily grouped under the headings of ownership by the U.S., preservation, and use. This source is considered indispensable for data for the park history.

The majority of the unpublished primary sources for the study of the main historical theme of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas is in Spanish and English. Therefore, it is fundamental that the researcher and/or historian have a knowledge of both language.

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